Plaine Engliſh:

OR,

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

THE ACCOMMODATION,

The Armie,

The Aſſociation.

Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.

Printed (unleſſe men be the more carefull, and God the more mercifull) the laſt of Liberty, 1643.

Plaine Engliſh:

HEe that deſires and promotes not an honeſt and honourable peace, let him ſuffer under the danger and confuſion of a Civill winter warre; He that would ſeek or accept peace upon unſafe and unworthy termes, let him have it; I can wiſh him no greater miſchiefe.

It is a mutuall complaint in the world, that ſome are all for peace, others wholly for warre; I am for neither, and yet for both; I alwayes loved peace well, but better now then ever: upon a juſt cauſe and calling I can ſcorne the danger of warre, but the ſin and confuſion of an Army I hate; I love peace ſo well, that I can endure warre to accompliſh it; and I think I love it better, I am ſure I love a better peace then they that can abide the thought of nothiug elſe, though they enjoy nothing leſſe; they would have a truce, I love a peace.

I love peace as my health, warre I cannot ſay I love, but uſe it as Phyſick: were not health very ſweet, pills would bee very bitter, there is no ſuch pleaſure in blood letting. I look to peace as my end, I look upon warre as the unhappy, yet not alwayes, yet not now the unjuſt meanes to procure it; I cannot be in the opinion of them who think happineſſe inconſiſtent with warre, and inſeparable from peace; where God is, there is happineſſe, he is the Lord of Hoſts, the God of peace.

To come neerer, We have found it not impoſſible to be miſerable under the Motto of *Beati Pacifici*; if it be miſery, as indeed it is, to ſee our neighbours and friends waſted, and the foundaton of our own ruine laid. This warre is the fruit of peace, Peace may be the fruit of this warre; I dare undertake to make good one, the God of heaven make good the other.

It was peace with our ſpirituall enemies, with our ſinnes, with our ſuperſtitious Idolatries, Sabbath breakings, it was peace with our outward both Forraigne and inteſtine enemies, *Spain* and its faction, that we may both in a religious and reaſonable way conclude, have brought us to this paſſe. God may juſtly let thoſe counſels that have wrought our neighbours miſery work our own.

And here let me take leave in this freedome of ſpeaking to give an account of my thoughts concerning the hinges upon which theſe troubles

now

now move: Becauſe I find many at a ſtand, admiring how wee are come to this heigth of calamity: Wee looke upon the hand that moves, and heare the hammer that ſtrikes, and tells us we are at the Evening of our unſound peace, and that we are in danger to paſſe a midnight before wee ſhall ſee a better and clearer morning of truth and peace ariſe upon us ſpringing from on high. But there are very few that looke upon the wheeles and ſprings the weights and lines, which move and act the things we ſee and heare.

For my part I am very farre from a Stateſman, my yeeres will not allow me experience, my parts inſight, my calling leiſure, nor my acquaintance intelligence, all which are neceſſary thereto. But I never yet ſhut my eyes to light, nor my eares to Truth, I have not been indilligent in obſerving and comparing the actions and proceedings of men, I have deſired as a man to know, as another man to know news, as a Chriſtian man to know and conſider the preſent and probable ſtate of the Church of God, and the account I have given my ſelfe is this.

I looke upon a grand deſigne of the Jeſuites and their faction as the great wheele moving to and in this buſineſſe. Hee that knowes any thing of the Chriſtian world muſt know ſomething of the Antichriſtian, & in that of the maſters of the faction the Jeſuites, which are a *Compendium* of the Romiſh Religion, in which and in whom, beſides Idolatry and ſuperſtition, are met pride, ſubtilty, and cruelty. It hath been not unjuſtly ſuſpected that there hath been a deſigne of theſe maſters of Religion, or rather rebellion, to which they have been moved by the weights of intollerable pride and miſguided zeale, to reduce as much of the world as they can comprehend in their vaſt thoughts to the Monarchy of *Spaine* and the Supremacie of *Rome*. And to this purpoſe they have bin indefatigable in their endevours in all Countries and of all kindes. It concernes not this preſent buſineſſe much for me to obſerve what they have attempted, and how farre they have prevailed in other Countries; Though it deſerves our notice to conſider how farre they have proceeded in *Germany*; what ſeeds they have ſowne in *France* and in *Holland* it ſelfe, notwithſtanding its profeſſed deteſtation of them and vigilancie againſt them; even ſuch as we may juſtly ſuſpect may grow up the next Spring and ſet all Chriſtendome in a confuſion, and make the world a fit ſhop for theſe ſonnes of perdition to worke in.

But let us a little more fully view their proceedings toward us, where at firſt we diſcerne an earneſt and not groundleſſe deſire of reducing us among the firſt, as knowing *England* would be a rich Diamond in a Crowne or Mitre, and as advantagious to their honour, power and riches, as any other. The ſeverall attempts in the time of our glorious Q. *Elizabeth* are ſufficient atteſtations of this deſigne and deſire; They ſaw it unpoſſible to worke upon her in regard of her averſeneſſe to their nation and religion, they began

to work against her both, her person and her Kingdome; He that knowes any thing, knowes and acknowledges the many deliverances God vouchsafed her, and this Kingdome in her, from a continued succession of treasons and Assassinations; Their severall machinations against her kingdome, especially that grand one of 88. are equally knowne, and when they saw it unlikely to prevaile here, they endevour to weaken and vex her with rebellions in *Ireland*; an old Play new acted. After this Sun was set, they hoped for a succession of thicke darknesse by interrupting the lawfull succession of one whom they could not so well be assured of, though some say they attempted him, and prevail'd farre enough: That could not be done, they are put to an after-game, which they play first desperately, in the Powder-treason, then subtilly, as may hereafter appeare. They began to be weary of violent attempts, and discerned a nature in His Majesty which they could make a good advantage of, peaceable and fearefull, willing quietly to enjoy that addition of power and revenue he had attained. They let him be quiet, provided that he would quietly see and suffer the Protestant Churches of *Germany* to be spoiled and wasted, which I am sorry to say he did, through the disadvantage of his nature and Counsels, though he was a man in point of judgement right against Popery. But they could easily allow him that, let him dispute and play at Ticktack with *Bellarmine* at his leisure, provided they could destroy the Palatinate, and get more another way. It was doubtlesse suggested to him an attempt to be absolute, that by catching at more, he might indanger all; its like he might wel enough digest the thought but not the meanes so full of danger and hazard: therefore left that work for others of more forwardnesse, and lesse fore-sight. The plot and circumstances of the *Spanish* Match, some of which are printed, shew how farre they had prevailed, and what hopes they had. To come to his now Majesties raigne, of which I shall speake as tenderly and as truly as I can. The same designe hath still beene doubtlesse driven; Its true, in a Match wee chang'd *Spaine* for *France*, *Cœlum non animum*, as it falls out. The two great works they have endevoured have beene upon our Religion and our Liberties, to blind our eyes by superstition and ignorance, to bind our hands by oppression and slavery, that they might lead us or carry us any whither. The first they looked at as the end, the second as the meanes: In all places a temporall tyranny is a great step to Ecclesiasticall; and especially in our Kingdome, where our Religion is fenced in with positive Law, they must breake this hedge before they can spoile the Vineyard; but hee that breakes this hedge a Serpent shall bite him. And truly they had made a mischievous progresse, they had gotten instruments for their turne in Church and State three or foure especially, who indeed moved all; One in Church of a right Antichristian spirit, insufferably insolent, more cruell then subtill, through

the violence of his paſſion, a man delighting in the blood of ſouls; In the State two or three, one of ſtrong parts, and a ſpirit fit for a great Turk; another or two miſchievouſly ſubtill, and of a thorough Spaniſh dye. They had obſerved all the rules that the Jeſuite gives for reducing a Proteſtant State, as in a Sermon preached this late 5 of November is more exactly declared. They had procured the diſcontinuance of Parliaments and made themſelves and their inſtruments uncapable of account, but to one whom they had ſo farre ſeduced as to like it well enough. They had brought us a great way in a ſtill march, and had drawen us further, had not the Conductours miſtook their way, and led us too farre Northward, which hath ſet them ſome years backward, if not ſpoyl'd the plot. Here they kindled a fire which they knew not how to quench, and ſo they reſolved to encreaſe it, though they burnt their fingers. When they ſaw it impoſſible to avoid a Parliament, they thought to delude it; this was the attempt upon the firſt Parliament, when that could not be done, they diſſolved it, and went about to delude the people with a promiſe to right grievances out of Parliament as much as in it; which how well kept let any man call up his two yeares memory; that promiſe was not a promiſe, but a propheſie of more ſuch promiſes; which prophecy hath been fulfilled though the promiſes have not. It would not yet doe, Mens eyes were opened, the ſtring of their tongues looſed, another Parliament muſt be cal'd, even that which becauſe it cannot be recal'd, muſt be miſ-cal'd, becauſe it would not (at leaſt for a time) be deluded, it muſt be deſtroyed; and thus am I led to the preſent condition: What need we look for any other ground of the ſeverall attempts againſt this Parliament, then that diſpoſition & thoſe Counſels which diſcontinued them, which are ſtill as ſtrong, and more deſperate then ever, becauſe of the new quarrels that are fallen in; I know there have been many particular occaſions, at leaſt taken, of breaches, and diſcontents, but yet the quarrell is not againſt this, but all Parliaments, unleſſe they could get one new moulded that ſhould be a *Conciliabulum* rather then a *Concilium*.

But I muſt be cal'd to account for this Diſcouſe: It may be thought impoſsible, that we ſhould be ſo bſotted as to drive a Spaniſh deſigne, and to fight for them in *England*, who fight againſt us in *Ireland*; Its true it were a wonder we ſhould doe this, if it were a wonder, we ſhou'd do any thing to undoe our ſelves; It hath deen our diſpoſition a good while, either to do nothing, or any thing, excepting alwayes ſome perſons who are vigilant and earneſt to diſſappoint theſe miſcheifes. we have made ſeverall expeditions to ſerve them; One to *Cales* to ſhew them where they were weakeſt, and give them notice, that no body elſe ſhoold take it; Another to *Ree* to weaken our ſelves; A third to *Rochel*, to ſee the Town ſafely delivered up: A fourth and fifth to *Scotland*, to make them our yoke fellows; and why not now a ſixth more directly againſt our ſelves.

But its further objected, it cannot be beleeved this ſhould be either his Majeſties intention to inſlave his Kingdom, or the intention of theſe Lords and Gentlemen that are with him to deſpoile themſelves of their Religion and Liberties. I returne this: They may doe the worke they intend not, and as wiſe as they take themſelves, may be over-acted in their owne deſigns. I cannot, I dare not ſay, that they doe agree in the ſerving this Jeſuiticall deſigne, they have many ends different from this & one another. But thus firſt; I heartily doubt, it is the deſigne of many, ſome beyond ſea, ſome in *England*, who have it may bee a double voyce in the managing this buſineſſe: The Papiſts had never bin ſo full and forward in their contributions both of purſe and perſon, were not there to them by themſelvs, and it may be by others, propounded great enjoyments. 2 All that joyn in this antiparliamentary war though they doe it not formally, yet by conſequent they ſerve this deſigne of ſlavery & ſuperſtition by endeavouring the overthrow of the Parliament, either in it ſelf or priviledges, which muſt preſerve both liberty and religion. They ſay they meane but the reducing it, why that is to break it in its freedoms, and they cannot ſtop there, becauſe they carry with them men, that as they hate to be ruled by a Parliament, ſo they love not to be ruled by any body, and when they are running down hill, eſpecially *Deſcenſus Averni*, who can ſtop them, not he that ſet them on? So that in the prevailing of the now raiſed force, the ruine of this, and indeed all Parliaments may be eaſily diſcerned, unleſſe ſuch an one as may lawfully ruine us: in the ruining Parliaments, who ſees not the ruine of Religion, Law, Liberty, and this Kingdom; nay which is more, the extreme danger, if not deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion through Chriſtendome.

If men have other intentions in this their expedition, as they do not juſtifie them though they were better then they are, ſo neither doe they availe us, they fight not to ſerve *Spain* or *Rome* but themſelves. But in meane time they are ſerved, and themſelves it may be, diſappointed. The maſters of this miſchief have a way to improve other mens principles and practiſes to their owne ends, they ſee a Parliament is not for their turn, they muſt have a war, its a hard matter to find ſo many men of one mind, as to agree to make an Army for the ſame quarrell with the ſame end, therfore ſay they, let us obſerve their principles, and make them beleeve they do their own work.

Is there a man that hath much to loſe, & is through guilt afraid of it, let him be poſſeſt there is no way to keep it but by ſtrong hand; is he revengefull, let him often hear of injuries reall or pretended; is he proud, let him be promiſed an unlimited abſolute government, let him be told how unworthy it is, a great man to have ſo many joind with him in the point next ſupremacy, nay ſupremacy it ſelf, The legiſlative power. Is there any that have endevourd the betraying their Country, the building their ambitious projects upon the ruines

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of our safety and liberty, let them be possessed there is no mercy in a Parliament, their estates if not persons must satisfie for their faults? Are there a people as there are too many whose lust is their life, that feare the power of Religion and strict discipline, they must bee possessed that there is an endevour of introducing a rigid Presbytery, an absurd independencie? Are there some who know not their own rights nor the state of our government, let them be possest with the Majesty, nay with the Deitie of a King, what a horrid thing it is to oppose an unlawfull command though to save a Kingdome. Are there an ignorant people that wil be deluded with promises and pretences, let the hopes of pillage be propounded to them? Is there any thing men love, that the Parliament will take away, is there any thing they feare, that they will do. Thus doe the contrivers of this mischiefe make use of every mans weaknesse or prejudice, and either propound to them or let them propound to themselves, ends according to their severall tempers, and lead them on with hope of their own ends, to further theirs. In summe, the matter seems to be this, Popery must grow up amongst us, till it have overgrown us; to accompliſh that, the fence of our vineyard, our laws & liberties must be pluckt up, and that can hardly bee done so long as a Parliament continue, or at least continue in their power and priviledge; to this purpose let them be defamed, dismembred, let an Army be drawn up to overaw them, if that be prevented, let another be raised, under pretence of a guard, to destroy them; That this may be, let the Prince fight for his prerogative, for the maintenance or improvement of his falsly supposed violated power. Let the Lords and Gentlemen fight for their lusts, the Divines & Lawyers (if yet they deserve such names) for the keeping and getting preferments, the Delinquents for their estates, their offices and shares in an arbitrary power, the *Welchmen* for the word King and a Common-Prayer-Book, the poor for pillage, the ignorant they know not why: in the accompliſhing these ends they shall accompliſh a work they think not of, the distruction of our goverment, an end they know not of. the growth of Popery, the wrong and ruine of the Protestant Religion here and in our neighbour Nations; the work is done, we are undone, there wants nothing but the *Plaudite* of the Popish Jesuited faction, and the late repentance of the unadvised furtherers of this mischiefe.

Now it were a question worth disputing and resolving what were the best way to prevent all this misery and mischiefe that is growing upon us. I know wiser men have it in hand, the Lord who is great in counsell, and mighty in working direct and protect them, & make them faithfull to them from whom they have found faithfulnesse. But this age wherein every man will be saying something, I will adventure for a share. It may be the last service, (if it be a service) that I can doe, I will speak as if it were the last.

First there is no man, or at least no Christian that doubts but a safe and honourable

norable Accommodation betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament, were to be preferd not only to the danger of a war but the certainty of a victory; for in the one we should get an interest in his heart, by the other only in his person, & the effusion of innocent blood would be prevented. But the great difficulty is, whether these just and honorable terms are likelier to be procured by fair means or by foule, by treating or fighting. To the resolving of this it must first be considered what is a safe, & what an honorable accõmodation.

And here it must be supposed that no government that is setled by men, or in men can be absolutely out of the reach of danger and destruction. The governments of men are as men are, subject to corruption As the Poet of persons and vices, *Vitiis nemo fine--- optimus ille--- Qui minimis urgetur.* So I of governments none without its wants and inconveniences, that the best which hath least; we must never look either by peace or war so to settle our selves, as not to be unsetled. Yet it concernes us toward a safe Accommodation to labour so to order things as not to lye open to manifest, or justly suspected misery or mischiefe.

Let it therefore be considered whether we can be safe, unlesse the power of the *Militia* be placed in men of knowne trust and faithfulnesse to the Kingdome. Some are of opinion, it had better never been medled with; that it hath occasioned this trouble, I much doubt it, this businesse was resolv'd should be; on that ground or some other. That Accommodation can onely be safe to this Kingdome, which shall place the power of it in the hands of them that may be groundedly presum'd will use it for the preservation of it self, and consequently not leave or place it in the hands of them who have, or are likely to abuse it, to the destruction of the Kingdome. Some say let every man stand upon his owne guard, leave it undetermin'd: it was alwayes unfit and unsafe, now most of all, both in regard of our selves and forraign nations? We have received the first fruits of *Ireland*, somthing from other Nations as a pledge of more in convenient time. We have a desperate Delinquent Popish party among our selves that calls for the settlement of the power of the Kingdome, so as to be used for its owne safety. Reports concerning *Denmark* have bin accounted ridiculous by them who thought they had contrived their businesse so cunningly that it could not be known.

It's true, that work of darknesse hath been so clandestinely caried as that a judiciall proof could not be produced to satisfie the world; but besides the scornd relation of the Skipper at *Roterdam*, who we yet see may speak as true as a courtier, and the common fame which runnes abroad, I beleeve there wants not some who know the earnest endevour of calling in forces from thence, the way and instruments of prosecuting that unworthy motion, what hath been acted in *Holland*, may be a sufficient argument of what hath been attempted otherwhere, all the world knowes how and by whom

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that worke hath been carried on; and let all the world judge whether the power of the Kingdome ought to be put or left in thoſe hands, who have endevoured to raiſe power againſt it: or to be left undetermind, when there are and have been ſuch determinations againſt us from abroad, and ſuch bitter quarrels at home among our ſelves, who need after theſe deſperate inſtigations no crueller enemies then one another. It's true, though it be ſaid that it much matters not who hath the command of our trained Bands, who have hitherto ſerved for little uſe but to arme the Kings forces againſt the ſeverall Countries and the Parliament, but what hands the principall forts, armes and Ammunition are, and eſpecially the Navy, is of as much conſequence as the ſafety of the Kingdome.

2 Let it be conſidered, whether we can be ſafe till the neck of this mentioned deſigne be broken of, whereby the ſervants of tyranny and ſuperſtition indevour to bring us under; It is beleeved that they are a reſtleſſe generation that are alwayes either conceiving miſchiefe or bringing forth iniquitie. Our intereſts muſt be untwined from the intereſts of *Spaine* and *Rome*, for ſo long as my Lo. *Cottingtons* houſe ſtands ſo neere the Spaniſh Embaſſadors, and *Briſtow* is ſo convenient a harbour for *Spaine*, we muſt looke for little ſafety but leſſe Religion.

Now that this fire may be quenched, and not onely raked up, it will be neceſſary that the fuell and fuellers be removed, that the inſtruments and matter of compaſſing this deſigne be abandond.

The inſtruments are conceived ſome particular men, who beſides other characters plaine enough upon them, may be knowne by their advancing an arbitrary Government in the King; and the mancipation of themſelves, to the promiſcuous ſervice of the Queen, who is profeſſedly zealous in this point and followes the plot by inheritance. The neck of this deſigne will ſcarce be broken, till the necks of ſome of the principall authors and actors be, and the reſt diſabled. And to that purpoſe, the Papiſts who are the dryed fuell of this fire muſt be brought into another condition: the damnable compoſitions throughly damned, the lawes againſt them made up into one good law, which in ſome caſes may deſtroy them, in every thing diſable them. This poynt of delinquents, though made a very tender poynt in regard of particular intereſts and relations which make haſt to deſtroy the publike, is of exceeding conſequence to our ſafety. Our neighbours though they may poſſibly not doe us the expected good, teach us this (but that we are reſolved to learne nothing) by their complement in the buſineſſe which hath made them, I feare, unable to help us, and in us themſelves, and makes them turne the thought of their neighbours welfare into a more direct ſolicitude for their owne, in regard of her now dangerous and it's like ſhortly deſperate party left amongſt them, and left able to hurt them. They flatter themſelves with

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their hardy poverty that it will not be worth the while to attempt them, that is ſure but a poore refuge, wrath is outragious, and anger is cruell, but who can ſtand before envie and revenge? Let them be aſſured, that if we be overborne with this feared miſchiefe, and that party whom they know to have been the inſtruments of their trouble as well as ours prevaile, they will find the malignity of our Nation to have a ſtrange influence into theirs to the doubling of their enemies among themſelves and from us, to whom eſpecially ſome among us they owe a great deale toward their preſent ſafety, they muſt expect fewer friends then formerly, unleſſe they ſhew themſelves more friendly, and ſo we ſhall have a third union of the two kingdomes, an union in bondage: But pardon this digreſſion, though I be out of the Kingdome, I am not much out of the way.

3. How can we be ſafe, unleſſe our Lawes be ſo by which we are preſerved, and how can that poſſibly be, unleſſe there be ſome new power eſtabliſhed, or the old power (if it be found only to have been deficient in reſpect of the perſons truſted) in new hands, how ſhall we be the better for our Lawes, were our Lawes better then they are, unleſſe ſome exact courſe be taken to give us the benefit of them, and though it ſeemes an unreaſonable thing to nominate officers in the behalfe of him who hath commanded and countenanced the violation of Law, that doubtleſſe muſt be the leaſt; and no man, no reaſonable man but ſees the caſe extraordinary: The God of Heaven direct to a better remedie then for ought I heare is intended.

In the next place let it be conſidered, what is required to an honourable Accommodation.

An honourable Accommodation muſt be ſo in regard of God and of our ſelves. And here I crave mercy from our over-forward Accommodators; (I meane them from whom it is in vaine to crave juſtice and truth,) that I mention God, who ſure is not in all their thoughts, they fear God in a wrong ſenſe, they feare leſt he ſhould rule among us; whom yet if we give occaſion to depart from us, which we ſhall do by unworthy termes, our defence is departed from us; whom if we now forſake he may juſtly caſt us off for ever. An honourable Accommodation in reſpect of God is a ſafe one in regard of our ſelves, his honour is bound up with our happineſſe; were it poſſible to ſettle peace without truth, we ſhould yet be but what the *French* ſay of a beautifull harlot, A Paradiſe to the eye, but a Purgatory to the ſoule.

Now in regard of God that Accommodation can be only honourable that may eſtabliſh his true Religion in puritie and plenty; Such an one as may extirpate Popery & ſuperſtition, lay the grounds of a pious painfull Miniſtry, and to that end caſt out thoſe ſcandalous ſeditious perſons, who have now ſhewed themſelves as ill affected to the ſtate as formerly to the Church, and if this advantage againſt them of ſtirring up the people to warre againſt the

Parliament

Parliament be nelected, I know no way of ejecting them. Such an one as may purge our doctrine, free it from such expressions as *Sancta Clara*, and the Arminians take advantage of, reforme our Discipline and make it more conducible to the end of all Discipline, the preservation of a Church from corruption in Doctrine and manners. And let it be weighed, whether that can be done without the supplanting those plants which our heavenly father never planted, the Bishops, which have hitherto brought forth the fruits of prophanesse, ignorance, superstition, and from whom litle other can be expected: If you suggest, Put better men in the places. We answer, The places will make them worse: for so constant experience tels, The persons were ever worse by the office, the office never better by the persons.

An Accommodation honourable in regard of God must be such as may cleanse the land from bloud, that innocent and precious bloud which cryes to be avenged by our Parliament, or upon it.

That Accommodation which should be honourable in regard of our selves, must be such as might put that part of the Kingdome which have stood up in the defence of it, into such a condition as to be free from the insufferable insolence and scorne, as they will alwayes lye under, from their unsuppressed enemies; but that is the least: Such an Accommodation shall we account honourable which may be so in regard of the Parliament, such as may retract the strange indignities offered that supreme Court, and vindicate their honour and power, and enable them to discharge that great debt which they have undertaken for, lest publique faith be justly accounted no better then publique fraud, which is the higheſt dishonour for so high a Court.

If it be here interposed, Where is your care for the Kings honour in the Accommodation? I answer, I think it more necessary to the welfare of this Kingdome, that the honour of this supreme Court be kept unstain'd then of any particular person whatsoever, I could wish the members of it would thinke so too, and avoide those retreats which wise men have already observed in their proceedings, and will in a short time appeare to every body.

His Majestie hath fairer wayes out of his reall mistakes then the Parliament out of their supposed. He is though a great yet but one person, in whom an errour is more tolerable; he is supposed to act according to the misinformation of evill counsels about him, let them beare the blame and shame. If it be so stood upon, that his Majestie scornes any such evasion, and as he hath already been perswaded to doe, take all upon himselfe, why should wee endanger our selves by a solicitude for the reparations of that honour, which they, whom it most concernes, are not at all.

For the Parliament to doe what hath been required, and it may be, is ex-

pected; I had almoſt ſaid what ſome of themſelves are about to doe, were to make them ridiculous and vile in the eyes of diſcerning people, as the relinquiſhing their orders, retracting their Declarations, deſerting their friends. For the King to doe what they have deſired (though at another time it would have been unreaſonably asked, and diſhonourably granted) is now both reaſonable and honourable to a true judgement, if it bee honour in a Prince to promote by all poſſible meanes the happineſſe and ſecurity of his people, it were but to doe that of which there might be Examples given in other caſes, where Princes have not thought it diſhonourable, becauſe they have done it to give ſatisfaction to people, to retract calumnies, to ſacrifice delinquents, or at leaſt receive them as a gratuity, though not worth the giving or taking.

The next and great Queſtion is, whether we are likely by a treaty to obtaine from his Majeſtie a reall grant of ſuch propoſitions as may ſtand with the ſafety of the Kingdome, the honour of God, of the Parliament and Nation.

And here the former particulars muſt be reſumed. Firſt, is it likely that during this unpretended danger we ſhould obtain a ſettlement of the power of the Kingdome, principally of the Ships, Forts and Armes in the hands of them who are knowne friends of publique ſafety or Liberty, taking it granted that we could finde them. Here is a double doubt to be made, firſt, whether he will; ſecondly, whether hee, conſidered in his preſent condition, can doe what may be for our ſecuritie; His conſtant Declaration of himſelfe ſeemes to expreſſe that he hath received two Principles againſt it.

The one ſuggeſted by them who ſee no way of ſecurity, or at leaſt of thriving but in a way of violence, who endevour to poſſeſſe his Majeſtie, that he cannot be ſafe in the Armes of his Parliament and people, becauſe they cannot; that there are inclinations to a defection in his people, and to an innovation of Government even in the greateſt points of it in the Parliament, or many conſiderable perſons in it, and thence inferre, that there is no way for his Majeſtie to keepe his priviledges, nor his perſon and Crowne but by force of armes, and therefore muſt have them placed in hands that his confidence ſo contrary to ours may be put in. How farre ſuch ſuggeſtions have prevail'd with his Majeſtie appeares by his late anſwer to the Parliaments vaine repetition of a Petition of returne, in which he ſaith, that to come up and truſt them, were but tamely to lay downe his Crowne, which by force they ſaw they could not take from him. I do not know of any ſuch inclinations in his people, but I am ſure ſuch counſels and ſuch carriages are the way to beget them: He is further told, or needs no telling, that he parts with the Flowers of his Crowne, which it is not reaſonable, nay not lawfull for him to doe in regard of poſteritie. But ſee here how indifferent theſe

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men are as he for one who wrote the late Anſwer to the Obſervations printed by Command at *Oxford*. It is lawfull, nay neceſſary for us to inveſt his Majeſtie with what right God hath given us, a right in our ſelves we may part with, yet more of our liberty, and lawfully and profitably make our ſelves ſlaves, but it is not lawfull for the King to part with an inch of Prerogative or abate a jot of power, though for that end for which all his power was given him, his peoples good, and given him by us. He cannot doe it without wrong to his iſſue: This will but give us occaſion to diſcuſſe how farre we are obliged by any acts or grants of our anceſtours, giving away their and our liberty, and determine for our advantage. Doubtleſſe his Majeſties thoughts remaining as they have of late appeared to be, it cannot be expected that (had we the hearts to aske it, which ſome ſay unworthily begin to faile men, and make them faile their truſt) hee ſhould intruſt the power of the Kingdome in thoſe hands, whom we can only truſt, that is ſuch as in this preſent buſineſſe have ſhewed themſelves faithfull to the Kingdom.

The caſe of conſtituting a power to ſee the Lawes duly executed, or at leaſt of placing the preſent power in better hands is the like. Theſe counſellours tell him there can be no new power but what is cut out of his, and the diſpoſing of the former power is likewiſe his, that if it be not diſpoſed by him, or elſe under-hand by ſome body for him, it will be an inſufferable diminution of his obſervance and authority. And no wonder though many endevour thus to poſſeſſe him, becauſe they looke to have this power placed in themſelves, to uſe it as they have done: His Majeſtie hath been alwayes obſerved to be too true to his owne ends, and to the perſons promoting them, though other men who would yet be more confided in, have found a way to employ men and deſert them; ſo that a reaſonable man who weighs perſons and things muſt conclude, that the King is not likely to yeeld heartily to the ſetting of that power, whereby he judges and rules, but into ſuch hands that have given open teſtimony, or doe give ſecret intimations and hopes either by their promiſes or their perſons that the power ſhall be uſed to the advance of prerogative and keeping the high way. You ſay ſome body muſt be truſted, I ſay truſt them that have not deceived their truſt; you aske where they are to be found? I wiſh I could anſwer it; As *Luther* once call'd for the 46th *Pſalme*, ſo I for the twelfth, *Helpe, Lord, for the godly man ceaſes, the faithfull faile from the children of men.* Put if our eyes were opened we might pretty well ſee whom not to truſt, neither with Lawes or Armes; that is, ſome tall Cedar poſts, whoſe varniſh is now worne off, the wormes ſeen, the rottenneſſe diſcovered, let not theſe be any longer accounted or uſed as pillars of the Common-wealth: Truſt not men that are really needy, unleſſe you be ſure they can make no better bargaine; truſt not men that by covetouſneſſe make themſelves needy, they will make a bargaine

for themſelves and of you; truſt not men that are knowne vitious and ſenſually corrupt, though forward aſſertors of Liberty, they are in danger to be given up by God, or to give themſelves up to actions every way diſhonourable. The truth is, though it ſound like a Paradox, where few can be truſted more muſt: and ſeeing we find men very ſubject to be corrupted by honour and authority, eſpecially in theſe times where ſuch ſnares are laid and ſuch baits propounded, let the Law and Rule be made as plain and certain as may be, the Offices of Rule and Judicature muſt be made more temporary and arbitrary in reſpect of the people then formerly. Though this will ſound harſh to men even accounted moderate, for I obſerve a generation that are extremely ſet for Liberty only, that themſelves may be licentious, and very hot againſt arbitrary Government, till themſelves have or hope to have a ſhare in it, as in the Earle of *Straffords* caſe, whoſe ſteps you ſee men of loud repute now beginning to trace, not thinking of his end.

In the next place let be examined, whether it be like to obtain of his Majeſtie in this conjuncture, the ſuppreſſion of that party Popiſh and otherwiſe Malignant, in whoſe impunity it is impoſſible for us to be ſafe; Whether I be miſtaken let wiſe men judge, but to me the popiſh faction, the promoters of an arbitrary government by force, for ſuch is that I feare, and the true patrons and lovers of truth and juſt liberty are as two ſcales or buckets, if one be high the other muſt be low; as it is againſt piety, ſo is it beyond the reach of policy, ſo to poyſe them eſpecially after ſuch ſtirring the humours on both ſides, as to keepe peace in this Kingdome. One muſt downe, it concernes us neerely to ſee which: Firſt, let us conſider, whether it is likely by our treaty ſo to abate the number and power of Papiſts, as that they ſhall not remaine continuall thornes in our ſides. It is juſtly feared they have too deepe an intereſt, and another kind of reward is expected by them and intended to them for their forward and uſefull ſervice at home aud abroad, all that they have done in *Ireland* is not like to prevaile ſo much to their diſcountenance as what they have done againſt *Scotland* and *England* to their favour, they have been former preached to be, and have now made good *Squire* Prieſts propheſie of the good Samaritane; good ſubjects in the Kings ſenſe, though not in the kingdoms. Shall they be diſcouraged, ſhall they be diſcarded, no let the poynt of the ſword and their ſwords too be turned upon another ſort of men who have rebelliouſly armed themſelves to ſave a Parliament from aſſaſſination and a kingdome from ruine. Shall not the Queene be gratified with the more free uſe of her religion, after that abundant ſervice in *Holland* for the proviſion of men and armes againſt us. It requires doubtles a faith little ſhort of preſumption to beleeve that ever by treaty the Popiſh party ſhall be weakened, faith may be kept with them though they keepe none.

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So for delinquents of the ſame kind, though another Religion, though we allow as much as can be allowed, that there be not a ſtrict and punctuall proſecution of all that have ſhewed themſelves enemies to the State. Is it poſſible to obtaine ſo much of his Majeſties favour or juſtice as to have the heads or necks of ſome of them who have been moſt deſperate and active in the embroyling this Kingdome in this civill warre, and the proportionable cenſure of the reſt. It is doubted, nay it is deſpaired, whom we call enemies of the State, he calls friends and makes favourites, and keeps them in his boſome, who by the warmth of his favour are ſo heightned, that thoſe whoſe care and paines have been indefatigable for the preſervation of the Kingdome from ruine both by ſea and land, are accounted the ſame to his Majeſtie as thoſe counſellors to us: where the Parliament thinks of puniſhments or ſhould think, his Majeſtie thinks of rewards, and ſo on the contrary.

If you ſay that all muſt be remitted, firſt the juſt and reaſonable expectation and engagement of the Kingdome cannot be ſo ſatisficd. Secondly, we ſtill keep within our boſome the fuell of a greater fire, if poſſible, and more ready after theſe exaſperations to take fire upon all occaſions, & will be moſt ready of all, when dried, as they are like to be, by the Parliaments impunity and the Kings favour.

3. We leave our ſelves to the ſcorne and inſolencie of them whoſe pride and blaſphemy is not like to ſtop till it comes at, *Where is now their God?* Which if it ſeeme good to the diſpoſing hand of Heaven, let me rather dye then ſee or ſuffer.

If any here think or ſay, There is a great deale of reaſon his Majeſty ſhould grant what may be for the ſafety of the Kingdome, it is for his own ſafety: I anſwer my queſtion is concerning will, not concerning reaſon. We are indeed told by him that undertakes the anſwer to the Obſervator, that we muſt ſuppoſe that Prince out of his wits, either not come to them or paſt them, a mad man or a child that will not do all for the ſafety and proſperity of his people, in which he is ſafe and flouriſhes. We are told this but find the contrary and have found it ſo often, that it ceaſes to be a wonder. It is not impoſſible for a man not out of his wits, neither though in that particular he hath not the right uſe of them to doe that which may tend to his own ruine for want of foreſight, if you be not in this reſolved aske our reverend Prelates.

But further, though a Prince may be tender of the lives of his ſubjects, becauſe he would have many to rule over; yet it is a queſtion or a negative concluſion; Whether he deſires to prefer their lives, ſo as they may be worth the injoying with the advantage of their eſtates and liberties. It is true, in right reaſon this ought to be his deſire and endevour, becauſe it is the honour of a Prince to be ruler of a rich and free people; but we many times finde that Princes repreſent their ſubjects to themſelves in the ſame relation as the land

to the ſea, what I can gaine out of it is mine owne; Every abatement of a priviledge in them is an advancement of a prerogative in me, the emptying their purſes fils my Coffers, and ſo make the happineſſe of the people and their owne, which ſhould be wrap'd up together, to bee two diſtinct, nay two contrary things, as it is in France, and hath appeared to be in *England* in the midſt of that 14 yeares ſpoile made upon us. Judge now whether it be not poſſible upon theſe termes for a Prince to be ſo farre from ſeeking the honour and ſafety of his people as to ſeeke their ruine as the foundation of his riſing; and make a ſecond judgement, Whether we have not ſo repreſented to his Majeſtie; So that you ſee or may ſee there is abſolute neceſſity, that a Prince ſhould alwayes ſeeke the true ſafety of his people with the advantages of wealth and liberty: But his gracious Maieſtie will; we have no way to judge of mens wils and diſpoſitions, but their former actions and preſent preparations: it is too apparant, he hath at leaſt permitted things to bee done very much to the prejudice of his people, but we have promiſes for what we wiſh, We wiſh there were no reaſon to diffide. Its one extreme unhappineſſe that the word of a King cannot rid us of all feares; What would you have further; that which wee pray God for; a hearty cloſe: But what would you have his Majeſtie doe further for your ſatisfaction? We would have him doe, Prevent the propoſitions with ſomething that might really advance the good of his people, and abdicate all thoſe perſons and Counſellours who have fomented this deſtructive jealouſie, and given the adviſe for this unhappy diviſion. It muſt not bee wondred that people will not be ſatisfied with promiſes and proteſtations, that have lived upon them while they are almoſt ſtarved, and they evidently ſee *Eſau*'s rough hand going along with *Iacob*'s ſmooth voyce.

And truly for my part, as it is doubted whether he will, ſo whether hee can, without a hard adventure yeeld to things ſo much for our advantage, and for the diſadvantage of his great Guard. The devill is now got out of the Circle and playes Reakes, the guard is thriven to an Army, two or three. Its ſome doubt whether the power that raiſed the devill can lay him; I have heard it reported, and am ready to beleeve it, when I conſider the diſpoſition of many men about his Majeſtie, that ſome ſhould ſay, as they had engaged themſelves, their friends and fortunes in the quarrell, as warre could not be made without them, peace ſhould not. And there is one doubtleſſe in whoſe breſt you may finde that indignation of *Iuno*, *Mene incœpto deſiſtere victam, &c.* So that in the making of peace it is feared there muſt be Articles made by them and for them, in whoſe peace we can have no peace.

Judge ye now of the likelyhood of a ſafe Accommodation, ſomething may be further added concerning the probabilitie of an honourable.

Honourable in reſpect of God: What hopes is there that Popery ſhould

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bee rooted up? May we not rather, in regard of the ſervice done by the Papiſts, expect an intolerable toleration. But we have many engagements for the Proteſtant Profeſſion. I muſt heere ſeriouſly profeſſe my doubt, that there is ſome equivocation in that word *Proteſtant*; that the ſenſe is taken as it hath been by ſome very large. You know how by the ſuperſtitious Prelates, the pillars of the Kings proteſtant Religion, popery hath been reſtraind, and proteſtancie muſt be accordingly enlarged. The Archbiſhop of *Canturbury* profeſſed himſelf a direct enemie to popery truly and properly ſo call'd, which I beleeve he only thought to bee the Popes Supremacie, which hee could ſcarce ſpare him; for all other points or moſt, we know were preached and printed with his Command or connivence. Now if the proteſtant Religion be enlarged, according as the popiſh is ſtraitned, a promiſe to maintaine the proteſtant Religion is more then a man can wiſh.

What hopes that ſuperſtition ſhould be aboliſhed, his Majeſtie expreſſed himſelf at *Cambridge* an approver of all the ſuperſtitious dreſſes and geſtures there uſed.

Of the purging our Doctrine or reforming our Diſcipline what hopes? We ſhall have a Synod, but who dares come to it upon the Accommodation? or who dares ſpeake freely in it, after the Parliament by this Accommodation, ſhall ſubmit to the King; wonder not that I count an Accommodation a ſubmiſſion; I beleeve the King (and juſtly) accounts the offer of it a victory. How miſerably will you find the indifferent Clergie warping to the prevailing party, the zealous abſent, and that juſtly, for I have a great deale of reaſon to be confident, that ſcarce any conſiderable man, who hath been engaged in this quarrell on the Parliament part, I make bold to call it ſo, for I hope they will yet owne it, if he retaine his integritie, dares abide the iſſue of a preſent Accommodation.

For the maine thing tending to the honour of God and the Salvation of men, the eſtabliſhing of a faithfull painfull Miniſtry, how impoſſible is it by Accommodation. Way muſt be made for that great worke by diſplacing thoſe idle, ſcandalous, ſuperſtitious, ignorant perſons, who are *fundi noſtri calamitas*. But how this can be done by compoſition, I apprehend not, if this advantage againſt them of ſtirring up the people to ſpoile and rapine were taken, it were a good likely meanes of rooting out them who had ſhuffled their cards ſo cunningly as to be out of the reach of Law in other reſpects, but if theſe men ſo unfit either for Church or Common-wealth be demanded, I beleeve this black guard muſt not be parted with; they may contend with the higheſt delinquents, nay Papiſts themſelves for point of Service in this cauſe; they have been the frogs comming out of the mouth of the beaſt, and the falſe prophet, ſtirring up the people to battell, telling them that though they damne themſelves, God will ſave them, they ſhall either live

Saints or dye Martyrs: These men must bee spared in regard of the service they have done, cannot be spared in regard of the service they may again doe upon the like occasion: for let any man observe and he shall finde, that those places which have been the dens of superstition, the dungeons of ignorance, the sinkes of prophannesse in regard of scandalous Ministers, have contributed the forwardest assistance in this cause against the Parliament. Though I will not deny but some learned and ingenuous men (whose principles have yet beene below the power of godlinesse) have upon generall mistakes and the swaying of particular ends engaged themselves in this businesse, though not so deep as others.

And no doubt but the Prelates themselves will be againe accommodated by this Accommodation, notwithstanding the votes (to them now ridiculous and call'd dotes) passed against them, for they say a Parliament ordinance can recoile as well as a Convocation Canon. No doubt, I say, but they may regaine their power in the Church, though it's like the Lords house may never have need of them.

And lastly, how can the Land by this Accommodation be cleansed from bloud, that crying sinne, which hath been contracted by this quarrell, if the Parliament have ingaged men to shed innocent bloud, I see no reason but that they submit, and an expiation be made; if on the contrary the Antiparliamentary faction beare the guilt, why not the punishment? As I apprehend it, the chiefe end of this taking up Armes on their party was to bring Delinquents to punishment, if now they give up on these termes, they have made many Delinquents, punished none, but rather given them a faire encouragement to the like offences by shewing them the worst they can looke for from the justice of a Parliament. And truly this to me is a sad consideration which makes me beleeve God will not prosper an Accommodation without the execution of justice upon these bloud-thirsty men. I read in the story of *Manasses*, that though he afterward repented, which our enemies are farre from, yet wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem, because of the provoca-
a *Kin.* 24.4. tions of *Manasses*, but particularly for the innocent bloud which he shed, which the Lord would not pardon. If the people, and especially the Parliament doe not their utmost to wash their hands, and cleanse the Land from this innocent and pretious bloud that hath been shed; I feare that bloud, which they take not care to bee avenged by them, will bee avenged upon them; which they will beleeve, when they see their Accommodation turned into an Assassination, which is no impossible businesse, neither will it bee thought so upon a little recollection. The deligne must on, the authours are impatient of this retrograde they have suffred these three yeeres, they cannot make use of so much further patience as to worke by wiles and windings, in all probabilitie the mystery of iniquitie so workes, as that if they that have

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letted will let they must be taken out of the way. Pardon these melancholick thoughts, I doubt there are too many of my mind, and yet, it may be, not many enough.

But sayes my confident friend, when you see safe and honorable propositions offerd and agreed upon, are not you gallantly deceived. I confesse I am, I shall be deceived if such termes be offered; more if they be kept.

But what will you say when you see the King come to London, upon the motion of the City, and a yeelding of the faireſt termes you can expect? I cannot tel what to say, but I know what to think. Yet I may tell you what the *Italians* say, They fear courtesies sometimes more then injuries, and this jealousy is not alwayes folly. I would make it a rule for my owne practise, let other men live by their owne rules; If my provoked professed enemie suddenly and without ground become miraculously kind, and close with me; I shall remember *Ioab* and *Amasa*. I aske pardon againe: My melancholy is deepe.

In conclusion my thoughts are these, first that upon these considerations it seemes to me improbable that safe and honorable termes if they be offered, should be granted and kept.

Secondly, though men be weary of the present, and desire to tumble into their former conditions; It seemes not agreeable to the order of divine dispensation, that all this stirre should be made, this bloud shed, to produce a cold Accommodation: Doubtlesse the period of this businesse will be some great alteration, liberty or tyranny, Popery or true piety.

Though men, great men and a great many sometimes raise a great deale of dust, and make a mighty bustle and bring forth nothing but wind: Yet God who doth nothing in vaine is not wont to lay such foundations, and temper morter with bloud, to have the rest of the building daubed up with untempered morter. There are many, though not propheſies, yet sad predictions which godly and wise men have found by prayer and observation, to be fulfild upon us before we can looke for happinesses though in Gods due time, and we hope in a short time he may bring light out of darknesse, and perfect peace out of this trouble. All the suffering almost hath fallen upon the house of God, judgement commonly begins there, but me thinks it should not end there: If the greene tree be cut to bleeding, sure the dry shall be cut to burning. We have been so long dandled in peace and sensuall pleasures that we can endure to think of nothing else, but it is to be doubted we must account for what we have enjoyed, for what we have abused, before we be trusted with more. These I say are my feares, though my hopes and prayers be, that the Lord would say to the destroying Angel, It is enough. I can and doe expostulate, as once the Prophet, *O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thy selfe into thy scabberd, rest and be still.* But my Jer. 47. 6.

mouth is ready to be ſtopt with the following verſe, *How can it be quiet, ſeeing the Lord hath given it a charge againſt* England, &c. Let me not here be miſinterpreted (I know I ſpeake to angry men) I lay downe this as a bare opinion, I make it not a rule to my owne or others working. I pray for peace, labour for peace, adviſe for a good and ſeaſonable peace, though my thoughts miſgive in Point of ſuddaine event. Let certaine rules and knowne grounds ſuch as theſe, (*Follow peace with all men & holineſſe, therfore love the truth & peace, If it be poſſible* (now that is onely poſſible which is lawfull; *How can I doe this and ſinne?*) *live peaceably with all men*) be the guides of mine and others actions, notwithſtanding ſuch, though not groundleſſe, ſurmiſes. The world ſeemes to be bigge with ſome great birth, the Lord haſten it in its time, alterations ſeeme to abide all Chriſtendome, I pray God make ours for the better. I leave it now to the world, or at leaſt to the litle world of prudent men, to judge what likelihood there is of a ſafe and honorable Accommodation; ſuch a one as may be built upon the foundation of truth: Peace without truth is no true peace, If the wiſedome which lyes againſt the
*Jam.*3.15. truth is earthly, ſenſuall, and divelliſh, whatſoever is done by or for us, God grant it may be done by that wiſdome which is from above, that is firſt pure, then peaceable, without partiality, without hypocriſie. And then the fruit of righteouſneſſe will be ſowne in peace to them that make peace.

But ſuppoſe (if it be lawfull to be ſuppoſed) that the Parliament, through the abſence of many reſolved men, now imployed in particular ſervices for their owne Countries, out of an intolerable wearineſſe of this preſent condition, and feare of the event, agree to the making up of an unſafe unſatisfying Accommodation. This would beget a queſtion, which I hope I ſhall never have occaſion to diſpute, whether in caſe the repreſentative body cannot, or will not, diſcharge their truſt to the ſatiſfaction, not of fancy, but of reaſon in the people; they may reſume (if ever yet they parted with a power to their manifeſt undoing) and uſe their power ſo farre as conduces to their ſafety; And if this doubt cannot be reſolved to the advantage of the people but be found either unlawfull or otherwiſe impoſſible. I know but two waies more betwixt which the choiſe is very hard, hang or flye. As for hanging I ſhould not much like it, though it were in a blue ribband, but for flying you will ſay the way is open, I would it were as I could wiſh it, if ever God bring us to ſuch a ſtrait; But in the meane time, if honeſt and engaged men be ſo farre deſerted, as to be conſtrained to flight, it will be full of diſhonour and danger; Diſhonour to them by whom they have been ſo engaged and employed, and danger to the Nation, which by their abſence will be the more expoſed to an inrode of ſuperſtition and tyranny. It may be there are ſome that will be ready to ſay a faire riddance, they are the troublers of Iſrael who are thus full of jealouſies, as to runne away from the ſhaddow of

their

their owne dreames; but there will be others, as wiſe as they of another mind, who know that the Puritans though they be thought a little factious and troubleſome in the Church, yet they are good Common-wealths men, reſolute aſſerters of publique liberty, that will pay roundly, and fight too, if need be, and cannot well be ſpared. And truly as there is a great deale of unſafety in it in reaſon, ſo doubtleſſe it would give God an advantage againſt the Nation and make him proceed without any ſuch demurre, as, *How ſhall I give thee up, O Ephraim? O England.*

But one thing further: Although an Accommodation may be probable, yet I meet with many who hold a ſtrong conveniencie, if not an abſolute neceſſitie of ſending propoſitions, in whoſe deniall may be advantage. But it is in vaine for me to diſpute that which the Parliament have determin'd; I onely wiſh the ſending of them may doe as much good, as the delay in framing of them hath done harme. It is expected the not granting of them, ſhould bring off ſome of the Kings party; I am ſure the making them at this time hath loſt ſome of the Parliaments, it hath divided the City, the Parliament, the Kingdome, almoſt ſtarved the Army, and brought things to confuſion. For when people conceive the Parliament recide from their principles and votes, whereby they have formerly declared themſelves in an incapacity of treating, and give litle leſſe then an implicite conſent to an accuſation of treaſon againſt their inſtruments, they begin to withdraw their hearts and hands, not knowing how low they meane to goe themſelves, or bring their friends. It were therefore to be wiſhed, that preparations for warre and peace were carried on with an equall hand, that the enemies of the Parliament had not ſo much encouragement, nor their friends ſo much diſcouragement; For let us be aſſured, if the Parliament give them, whom they called malignants, equall intereſt in them with their friends, friends will be harder to finde then ever they were, and furtheſt off when there is moſt need of them. And what a lamentable thing a Parliament is without the people, in all juſt caſes to ſtick to them, if you know not, remember the fourth of *Ianuary*, the great Army by land and Navy by Sea, the pikes and proteſtations, that have been mentioned with a jeering indignation. But I here ſeriouſly aske pardon for making that my worke, which is the work of wiſer men. I am lead to a diſcourſe I hope beyond exception, which will be a juſt inference from that which hath been ſaid concerning Accommodation.

We all know that force and arms muſt now do that which faith and truth before this Iron Age were wont to doe, and whether we treat or not, it is of abſolute neceſſitie that there be an army till the King ſee fit to diſcharge his guard; If this army be diſſolv'd he is a wiſe man that knowes where to have another; If we have none, we ſhal never need to think of making propoſitions they ſhall bee made to our hands, or to our heads, and necks. It is left there-

fore to Indifferent men to judge, whether it be not fit that this perſent Army raiſed by the Parliamet and maintained by the City and Kingdome, may not in juſtice expect countenance and maintenance from them, by whom, and for whom, they have been employed and engaged. For the firſt, which is countenance they ſtand not ſo much upon, only as it is a part of their reputation, but the latter is the maine.

I finde even among the Parliament men, many who have conceiv'd and expreſſed, I thinke unjuſt I am ſure unpolitike jealouſies of the army, which have ſo farre wrought upon many conſiderable men in it, that in caſe the like neceſſity againe returne, I very much feare, whether they would not rather fly to ſave their owne lives then ſtand to fight for them who ſo requite them. It is a ſtrange and unhappy turne, that where the ſafety not long ſince was, (and to a right judgement now is) there the danger ſhould be. Cannot we bee content to be jealous of our enemies? But it is not to be wondred at, when the people who have been their immediate ſafety find the like meaſure from ſome of them, who begin now to ſuſpect, that they have been ſo forward for their ſupplyes and defence, only, that they might make uſe of them to doe ſome ſtrange thing, and be midwives to ſome *Chimera*, which yet no body knowes what to make of. I gueſſe at ſuch thoughts by ſome expreſſions I have heard from them, who ſay they doubt the people aime at ſome great *infandum*, ſomething to big for their mouthes though not for their hearts, which they are ſo horribly affraid of being ſerviceable to, that they many times doubt whether themſelves ſhould doe their owne duty, becauſe they ſuſpect other men forget theirs. Not conſidering that this is the way to beget a counter-jealouſie which may undoe all, but the Parliament firſt.

There are ſome men, it may be, that will not ſpeake what they would have, it is as likely that they will never attempt it, mens wiſhes may be modeſt enough, all things conſidered, and yet not eaſily expreſſed. The Parliament finde it an extreme hard thing to ſay what themſelves would have, they are as men walking among Quagmires, know not where to faſten a foot. No wonder though the poore people whoſe thoughts are all ſwallowed up in danger and diſtraction cannot ſay what they would have for their owne ſafety.

But for the matter of the Army, this Treaty is not like to be of ſo ſpeedy diſpatch, if ſafely carried, but it will admit, nay urge a conſideration of maintaining the Army, and finding out a ſettled way of maintenance. The Kingdome hath hitherto ſupplyed the Army as the King ſupplyed himſelfe before the Parliament by loanes and bargaines, and a contribution liable to two great miſchiefes, trouble and uncertainty, it were good ſome conſtant courſe were undertaken, that we might be rid of our feares, and the hopes of our enemies a little daſh'd, who flatter themſelves with the failing of our treaſure,

ſure, knowing we have not the Conſcience to live as they doe. And to this purpoſe an excize, a weekly aſſeſſement or voluntary contribution muſt bee thought on. As it is no contemptible ſumme that is paid upon a voluntary monethly contribution, ſo it might be made more conſiderable, if men were by ſome meanes or other brought to a levell: for it is the uneveneſſe of the grounds men are upon that makes them ſtumble at this way of ſupply; they ſay and ſay juſtly, that unleſſe the diſaffected party be reduced to ſome proportionable termes, they ſhall goe on to impoveriſh themſelves, and make themſelves the objects of the ſcorne and inſolencie of their enemies, and the pity of their friends. Here therefore let it be conſidered (nay let it bee no longer conſidered, *In re tam iuſtâ non eſt deliberandum*) whether with all diligence (I had almoſt ſaid with all violence,) the Ordinance for aſſeſſing the Non-contributors be not to be put in execution: I am aſhamed of the excuſes made in this particular, ſome that are employed pretend they are affraid of the ill will of their ill neighbours. But what equitie is there in this proceeding, it is a continuall quarrell (*ad ravim uſq;*) in the City, that the Army marches not againſt *breſtworkes, batteries*, and the *mouth of the Ordnance*, when themſelves doe not, and pretend dare not, with the advantage of an Ordinance of Parliament, adventure upon the open *mouth of a malignant* upon the hopes of our ruine, *mounted* againſt them.

But it may be ſome feare their hands more then their thoughts or tongues. That is hard, that the power of Parliament and *Militia* in the hands of men well-affected to the Parliament ſhould leave grounds of terrour in the minds of the Citie, let them aſſure themſelves that feare this feare, that they ſhall never have leſſe reaſon to be afraid then now they have, and if they let them goe on at this rate, the thing that they feare will come upon them; our diffidence is their ſtrength; We have ſo uſed them hitherto, that they can bee more merry in a priſon then we in our freeſt meetings. And it is to mee a ſad thought (which the mention of a priſon hath brought to my minde) that our priſoners, men of repute, piety, and valour ſhould be ſo unworthily uſed by our adverſaries; and we in the meane time ſuffer theirs to enjoy not only unneceſſary but unlawfull contents, witneſſe the p'enty of wine, and the reſort of women (where there b: Cats, there muſt be Vermine) at *Lambeth* houſe. How juſt were it that we had twentie or thirtie of the Chiefe of them, ſome of the ſouldiers, ſome of the Citizens, ſent to *Windſor* Caſtle or ſome other place, where they might at the beſt fare but like ſouldiers, or otherwiſe according to intelligence. Let the Parliament bee aſſured, that if they give up on theſe termes, they will leave an everlaſting diſcouragement upon their friends and not know where to find men to ſticke to them (for themſelves ſee how they are abuſed by the petitioners for peace, whoſe ſenſe is fully enough expreſſed in the libellous complaint to the Commons) when they ſhall have

need,

need, which I am confident through the reſtleſſe deſignes of them who lye at the bottome of this buſineſſe, they will quickly have.

But it will be here objected, the Army give continuall diſadvantage to their owne maintenance and encouragement by the ill managing the affaires committed to their truſt.

To this I anſwer, Firſt, that I would not be taken for the generall Advocate of the Army; doubtleſſe there are faults perſonall and reall, more then I know, more then can be excuſed: But firſt there have been many things ſaid againſt the Army that never were, or could be proved; and further the Army is prejudiced by the expectation of things impoſſible. When the people are unchangeable, and the Parliament infallible, the Army ſhall be unblameable. It is expected by the Parliament and Citie that the Officers ſhould be all honeſt and faithfull; what an unreaſonable thing is this, will you expect that in a Camp, that you find not in a Court? no not in the two great Courts of the Kingdome and City, the Councell of the Commons, and the Common-Councell. And to make good my title and ſpeake *Plaine Engliſh*, The Parliament and City have ſhared in the power of the Army, it is good reaſon likewiſe they ſhould ſhare in the blame: They have recommended many of the Officers they finde fault with, whatſoever other men are; I can aſſure they are not all Saints that they have put into the Calendar. For the conſequent of corrupt Officers, which is falſe Muſters, it is a great and a juſt quarrell which all honeſt men deſire to remove the ground of. But firſt let it bee conſidered, that it is the common lot of all the Armies of Chriſtendome, the Prince of *Orange* makes the ſame complaint, to which purpoſe I could tell you a ſtory, but that I am reſolv'd againſt tediouſneſſe. The noble and victorious King of Sweden did by his very great diligence provide againſt it as much as was poſſible. But in ſtead of quarrelling, let us attempt, a not impoſſible, redreſſe. Let the Parliament or Citie, if they can in this wicked world find ſome ſtoicall men, that deſpiſe money—*Quos dignos ſpectatu arbitremur*, appoint pay-maſters to every Regiment from whom the Officers and Souldiers ſhould receive their pay: let them attend conſtantly, and pay two or three times a weeke at an appointed place in the quarter with the forfeiture of pay upon an unlawfull abſence. The honeſt Officers would heartily embrace this motion, and be glad to be free from the continuall trouble they now endure from their importunate retinue, as for Knaves they will not ſpeake againſt it, leaſt they ſhew themſelves ſo. It being alwayes reſerved, that honeſt men upon better reaſon may ſpeak againſt this motion, to which I ſubmit. This would be a way to ſave money, to keepe the ſouldiers together; only let care be taken that the men to whom this truſt is committed be of good repute, and able ſometimes at a pinch to diſburſe ſome money to the common Souldiers. But I leave this in the midſt.

Another

Another great quarrell is, but the moſt unjuſt, that they march not, that they are not active. The Souldiers hands indeed go not ſo faſt as other mens tongues. Action is not ſo quick as thought, eſpecially thoughts wing'd with earneſt deſires, *Deſiderio etiam celeritas in mora eſt.* Are there not continuall parties out, and that with no contemptible ſucceſſe, according to which if men glorified God, and were thankfull, they would not be ſo vain in their imaginations: Let them look upon other Armies in forraign Nations; upon the Kings Army, whom it concerns to be active, if they had opportunity. To aſſault *Reading*, nay to gaine it, would not countervaile the hazard nd loſſ, It is likely they would attempt *Oxford*, though againſt reaſon, if the Parliament and City will undertake for their own ſecuritie in the *interim*, and make good the neceſſary damage of a winter ſiege. Oh how eaſie a thing is it to give a hard cenſure, to fare well and lye warm, and to condemne poore ſouldiers, to lye in winter-trenches at the mercy of wet and cold. Sure there are many men that think it as eaſie a matter to win a Towne, though fortified, as to make a breach in the wals of a Chriſtmas Pie. But as I undertook not an abſolute juſtification in the other complaints, ſo neither doe I in this, but doubt not but they may receive ſatisfaction from them whoſe experience makes them able to ſay more then I can; but of late the complaint hath bin reciprocall: The ſouldiers would not act for want of pay, the people would not pay for want of action. The beſt way is to mend both together.

In *fine*, let us be well aſſured that whoſoever ſuffers his diſcontent againſt the Army to grow up to revenge, means in the iſſue to ſtrike himſelf. And whereas it is ſaid that the putting the Army into an expectation of conſtant ſupply would make them unwilling ever to disband, how void of reaſon is this exception? whereas in the hands of the Parliament and Citie are thoſe nerves and ligaments which hold the Army together, which they may ſhrinke or cut as they ſee cauſe. But from the neceſſitie of an Army I paſſe to the conveniencie if not neceſſitie of an Aſſociation.

And how could I now wiſh that my pen could drop ſpirit and vigour into the hearts of my plannet-ſtricken Country-men. Or rather that he who formeth the ſpirit of man within him, and faſhioneth the hearts of the children of men, would give them ſo much of his own ſpirit, which is a Spirit of truth and action, as to make them valiant for the truth once committed to them. How ſad a thing is it to ſee what a French tincture our Engliſh Nation hath gotten, as if there were a bridge made from *Calis* to *Dover*. What an apiſh diſpoſition hath poſſeſſed our Gentry, what an aſinine diſpoſition our Commonalty, which if not timely ſhaken of will make way for the worſt of *France* to be ruled by horſes in ſtead of men, which is a thing I have long feared.

Heare, O people, Conſider that you are conſiderable or might be, if good counſell would be taken. Do not you ſee how you are courted by the King, what care the Parliament take for your ſatiſfaction? Sure you are not ſo contemptible a thing as ſome would make you; your right is much, and your power no leſſe, if you would know the one and uſe the other. I am ſenſible how offenſive this diſcourſe is like to be, but it never was my intention (had it bin poſſible) to pleaſe all men. But let me not bee miſtaken, I am farre from the Monſter of a *Democracy*, that which I call to the people

for, is but a quick and regular motion in their own ſpheare, to do that which the Parliament hath ſometimes call'd upon them for, to contribute their beſt helps to two great works, of mercy and juſtice; Mercy to the Kingdome in its preſervation, Juſtice to its Enemies in their deſtruction. Suppoſe they hit not upon the ſame meanes, but, through the narrowneſſe of their precept, which can ſcarcely be extended to all circumſtances and opportunities, be conſtrained to out-run a command, their faithfull proſecution of the end deſign'd them, which is the ſafety and preſervation of the Kingdome, and in it their owne, may juſtly excuſe them, if not commend them; As by the votes of acceptable ſervice may appeare.

And here I confeſſe my ſelfe at a ſtand, I know not what remedy to preſcribe to this Lethargy, the things that one would have thought ſhould have quickned the people have ſtupified them; If the dint of the ſword, the noiſe of the Canon directed and diſcharged againſt themſelves, their lawes and liberties, their wives and children, cannot awaken them, I know not what will; unleſſe it be the thunder of ſome terrible judgement from heaven that will at once awake them, and lay them downe to a perpetuall ſleep. How ſtrangely are mens eyes dimmed, and hearts deaded; Not above a year ſince upon the noiſe of bringing up an Army to put the Parliament in ward ſhip, upon the attempt of an illegall ſeiſure upon ſome of their members, what a high and yet juſt tide were men flowen to, *Quantum mutatus ab illo —— Hectore?* —— We now ſee that done with open face which was then ſtudiouſly concealed, a mighty *Guard* actually raiſed, brought up as neer the Parliament as feare would ſuffer them: for notwithſtanding that ſhort Covering of the *Brainford* buſineſſe, to knowing men it is undoubted, that the deſigne was upon the Parliament and Citie, where if God had not mercifully and miraculouſly prevented, after their Sabbaths dayes plunder of *London* (their uſuall Sanctification) ſtrange Acts might upon Munday morning have been made at *Weſtminſter*; when terror had ſeized upon the good, and confidence, if not impudence, poſſeſſed the evill. We now ſee in ſtead of thoſe 6. at leaſt 26 accuſed of treaſon for the ſame cauſe that they were, that is, being forward and active for the preſervation of the Kingdome from the Kings *Guard*. It is the ſame ſeaſon of the yeare, a more unqueſtionable cauſe, where are your pikes and proteſtations? your courage and reſolutions? Do you conceive your danger more, your enemies more formidable, ſhould not your valour encreaſe with your danger, if it were ſo, when the cauſe remaines the ſame? But look ſeriouſly about you, you will not want encouragement. Look Weſt or North, or South, to *Suſſex*, *Devonſhire*, to *Lancaſhire* and *Yorkeſhire*; but eſpecially look above you to heaven it ſelf, you can want no arguments to ſtirre you up in this ſervice; let no man be diſmayed by the dreame of impoſſibility. Do you ſay that life is ſweet? is not Religion? is not Liberty ſo likewiſe? they ſhould be as delightſome as they are wholeſome:

Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere cauſas.

I am aſhamed that any man that underſtands theſe lines ſhould not ſo far underſtand himſelf, as to count all things loſſe and dung, to gain the price that is now in his hand, and let him be aſhamed too, with a ſhame that puts on to amendment.

We

We have long pretended a zeale againſt idolatry, while in the mean time we are all become one idoll. We have eyes and ſee not, &c. We have eyes and ſee not an Army of papiſts, not only with permiſſion allowed to uſe their own religion, but with commiſſion appointed (in event) to deſtroy ours; we have eares and heare not the continual blaſphemies againſt our God, the reproches and ſlanders againſt our Parliament; It cannot indeed be ſaid we have mouths and ſpeak not: for they that do leaſt commonly ſpeake moſt. But I am ſure I may ſay, feet have we and march not, hands have we and handle not the ſword and ſhield. We talke of want of armes, its want of hearts; had we no Smith in England, as once in Iſrael, if men had had their true Engliſh proteſtant ſpirits, and well timed their attempts, their enemies had beene meat to them, though many of them (as they that viewed the carcaſſes at *Kinton* ſay) rotten meat. But I am weary of complaint, let me turne to advice. Beſides thoſe foggy miſts of ignorance and miſinformation that have at once blinded mens eyes, and dull'd their ſpirits, the great diſadvantage of this great body of the people which I now ſpeake to, from doing great things, hath been the diſunion of them, many twigs have been broken which if bound up together would have made a rod for the ſevere correction, if not deſtruction, of their enemies.

Let it therefore be conſidered, whether an Aſſociation well and warily laid may not be a great advantage for the recollection of theſe looſe and diſtracted ſpirits, which united might be ſo ſerviceable. An Aſſociation I ſay well and firmely laid; An Aſſociation not ſubject to Equivocation, an Aſſociation more particular then the Proteſtation, which like the net in the Goſpel brought up fiſhes good and bad, and ſtones as well as fiſhes.

And here let the children of this generation (for I hope they ſhall never ſee the next) the Biſhops, be taken into example for the manner though not the matter of the act. When they went to contrive an Oath they did it to the purpoſe, a fitting, diſtinguiſhing oath that ſhould have ſcarcely left an honeſt miniſter in the Kingdome. Therefore I ſay let this Aſſociation be wiſely laid ſo as to give us to know our friends from our enemies, yet not ſo ſtrictly as to engage to things impoſſible or too many, but ſomething to this purpoſe. To the maintenance of our eſtabliſh'd Religion and law with all poſſible improvement, to the maintenance of this army (raiſed under the conduct of the truly noble and valiant Earle of *Eſſex* Captaine Generall) by purſe and perſon againſt the oppoſite faction, and to bring delinquents ſo voted, by the (once ſacred) votes and conſent of Parliament to condigne puniſhments. But I am now beyond my owne line, I know there hath bin paines taken in this buſineſſe, & the ſpeculation of it hath been more fully ſtudied by others, then my deſire of practiſe will for the preſent allow me to do. This buſineſſe as it muſt be well laid, ſo warily and religiouſly entred into. There is a great deale of danger in promiſſary oathes, I would have no man loſe his ſoul to ſave a

Kingdome, which he that knows well the price of ſoules, having paid for ſo many, prefers to a whole world. This Aſſociation eſpecially in the Eaſterne and Southerne parts of the Kingdome that enjoy the benefit of the now raiſd Army, in all reaſon muſt be for a contribution to the maintainance of it. To agree for the preſervation of their own counties by their native power, had been ſufficient (it may be) before an oppoſite army raiſed; but it will be now found moſt concerningly neceſſary to looke at the preſent army raiſed in the defence of the Kingdome as the beſt groundworke of ſafety, and I doubt not but they will ſo approve themſelves when the ſpring of action comes. There are a generation of men too fruitfull, who though the Arke and Iſrael lye in tents, yet they muſt go in and eat and drink, and lie with their wives, of whom good uſe may yet be made, let them pay for an indulgence for this their indulgency, theſe are well-woulders to the Parliament and Kingdome, let the impediments of their action, their wives and children, be content to purchaſe the preſence of their husbands and parents, with the want of thoſe accompliſhments which in theſe times may be well ſpared, and by this meanes I doubt a ſumme too conſiderable may be raiſed.

The benefit of ſuch an Aſſociation would be doubtleſſe great; It would concenter and determine the looſe and languiſhing affections of men and propound them a particular marke of action. It would be a good ſecond ſtring in caſe the Parliament ſhould unhappily miſcarry, whereas otherwiſe we ſhould be found as ſheepe ſcattered, a fit pray for the *Wolves* of theſe times. Much more might be ſaid to this purpoſe, but a litle done, were better then a great deale ſaid. Let therefore thoughts and words put on action, the love of Chriſt prevaile as much in Proteſtants for a *confederacy*, as the zeale for Antichriſt hath done in Papiſts for a *Conſpiracy*. When Theeves and murtherers ſay, Let us all have one purſe, let us lay wait for bloud; doth it not concerne true men, men of truth to ſay, Let us have one heart, let us go out (as it was ſaid of the children of Iſrael) as one man againſt them; Let us therefore lay aſide our particular intereſts, and embarque our ſelves in this common cauſe of Religion, law and liberty, all the paines we otherwiſe take is but building without a foundation. It is in vaine for an honeſt man to thinke of proſperity or ſecurity in this Nation, but in the ſucceſſe of this preſent buſineſſe; Its true there are great unavoidable difficulties propound themſelves on every ſide, but let us doe our duty and wait on God, even the *God of our ſalvation, who may anſwer us by terrible things in his righteouſneſſe which we looked not for.* God hath put us to many a loſſe that we might have opportunity of ſeeking and finding him. *His way is in the ſea, and his pathes in the great waters, his footſteps are not knowne. Yet he led and will* ſtill lead on his people toward a land flowing with *milke* and *honey*, the ſincere *milke* of *truth*, the ſweet *honey* of *peace*.

FINIS.

Whatſoever errors have eſcaped the Authour or Printer, as the commiſſion of them ſpeaks a man, ſo let the pardon ſhew a good man. I meant *Plaine Engliſh*, its like he meant true.

Veniam pro laude.

92463